

# →QUEEN'S · COLLEGE · JOURNAL.←

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## †Queen's College Journal†

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of Queen's University during the  
academic year.

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J. W. MUIRHEAD, B.A., - Managing Editor.  
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THE Queen's College *Journal* staff for '91-  
'92, with some diffidence, submit to their  
readers the result of their first endeavour.  
Unlike its predecessors, Vol. XIX will be  
published in twenty-four weekly numbers,  
and be expected to appear with unfailing regu-  
larity every Saturday morning. It is our hope  
that by this means the *Journal* may be kept  
more in touch with college life. Of our aims  
and ideals we ask our readers to judge from  
what they read, and of these aims and ideals,  
and our attainment of them, we expect an un-  
sparring criticism.

\* \* \*

Every student upon returning this fall, we  
fancy, after seeing the University building still  
standing, cast an anxious glance toward that  
corner of the campus where was to have been  
our gymnasium. How their hearts sank to  
see the grass growing green, the maples leafy  
and flourishing as never before! "Where,  
oh where is the gyn?" must have been their  
passionate cry. "Where, oh where?" came  
the answer echoed from the walls of the Patho-  
logical Museum. With sinking hearts they  
slowly realize that the gymnasium, in the  
spring so very nearly a reality, had vanished  
far into the future—had retaken its place in  
those bright visions we all form of that grand  
time when Queen's will have a Science Hall  
for the study of Physics, and a catalogue for  
the Library. For the present "Durum: sed

levius fit patientia, quidquid corrigeret est  
nefas."

For this season there is no gymnasium,  
therefore, like the Hindus, we must do with-  
out. Whether it would be possible to obtain  
permission to place a few pieces of apparatus  
in the attic of the Science Hall and use them  
at hours when no lectures are being given in  
the building, is another question, though one  
worthy of consideration. But it is obvious  
that no company expecting to make money  
will put up a gymnasium immediately after  
the erection of the beautiful Y.M.C.A. build-  
ing. And it would be absurd for the students  
or the University authorities to build one  
until they were in a position to build a first-  
class one, with a large room for College meet-  
ings and small committee rooms for all the  
College societies—in short an athletic club  
house for the students. The time when this  
will be possible is distant. The money on  
hand at present will go no distance at all to-  
ward such a building. Therefore we must  
wait for a University gymnasium. In the  
meantime we must have the use of some  
gymnasium, and that of the city Y.M.C.A.  
will first suggest itself to all. We think the  
Athletic Committee will do well to lay before  
the students at once the terms upon which  
they may use the Y.M.C.A. building upon its  
completion. The only objection urged by the  
students to the use of this gymnasium is its  
distance from the College. This, however,  
except during the football season, does not  
apply to the use of the building *as a gymnasium*,  
and a building which will be more than a  
gymnasium to us is at present an impossibility.

\* \* \*

There are students in the University, who  
pride themselves most heroically upon their  
class and College spirit, yet, strange to say,  
these same students when called upon to sub-  
scribe towards sending a delegate to represent  
Queen's at a sister college gathering, excuse  
themselves forthwith, by saying that they do  
not believe in the custom and will not support  
it by their contributions or their influence

## CONTRIBUTED.

## OUR SCHOOLS.

College spirit! Class devotion! Deep, indeed, must be the loyalty of such students to their Alma Mater, when they fail to see the broadening and strengthening influence which is sure to follow from true inter-collegiate life and fellowship! Loyal students of Queen's, students whom all delight to honor and receive, are the ones who *foster* the inter-collegiate spirit by extending a hearty and fraternal welcome to the delegates from other Colleges who come from time to time to our yearly gatherings and conventions. The College spirit which would do away with this custom of exchanging the brotherly greeting, and of recognizing and honouring the other Universities and Institutions of our land is no College spirit at all, and it is with deep regret that we find such a feeling existing in any of the students of Queen's.

Much has been said of late about the necessity for more fraternal feelings amongst the students of each year. Year meetings are held for the purpose of keeping students in closer touch and fostering more and more that spirit of class life which makes college days so memorable. All well and good! But do not let your class enthusiasm close your eyes to the great fact that you belong to a mighty organism of collegiate life which extends all over the globe. Keep in touch with other colleges, keep alive the feeling that you are standing shoulder to shoulder with other great institutions founded for the same purpose and with the same high aims. This is why we send delegates to other Colleges, and this the reason we welcome delegates from them. Let no student of Queen's who has the good of his College at heart or who is interested in seeing her recognized amongst the sisterhood of Colleges cast a slur upon her importance or belittle her standing, by crying down this time-honoured custom which should last as long as College.

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Two duties are pressed upon the notice of the College man by every exchange:—1st. Subscribe for your College paper. 2nd. Adopt as your motto for the College Society: "Punctuality, Perseverance and Preparation."

It is only the tramp who sings:—

"Since in working and in resting,  
"Life is divided best,  
"Let others do the working,  
"And I will do the rest."

**Y**OU have no schools," said an old countryman to me a short time ago. " You have only grinding establishments to help people pass examinations." I admitted it. I am, I think, a tolerably patriotic Canadian, but I agreed too well with him for dispute. Grinding establishments, our schools—ay, and our Colleges—are. Education is a material thing, gaining material advantages, and is sought for as such. If a diploma or certificate is sought for, it is crammed for. If certain information is necessary for one's life work, it is got, and all else is counted useless. School life is too often a hurrying scramble for certificates and recognitions. The pupil wishes to do the most work in the shortest time, hurries forward, does what he is forced to, and shuns what is not obligatory. At College he is too busy with his class work for outside reading. He has his degree in the end, some information that he will find useful, some mental training that will help him; but no culture. What has been prescribed he may know; he certainly knows nothing else. His education has been a business specializing.

Many causes may be assigned for this. A very evident one is the business point of view so universally affected. Information is sought as worth so many definite dollars and cents. That is right enough in its way; but it prevails too extensively. Perhaps an additional cause may be suggested.

The ordinary Canadian student lives in two distinct worlds. One is the home world; there business, news, gossip, and nothings form the staple of conversation. Books rarely intrude; when they do they are treated in a gingerly fashion and are soon dismissed. From this world the student, whether at school or College, passes abruptly into a new world. He may enter into it conscientiously; so may a clerk enter conscientiously into the weighing of sugar. The clerk thinks but little of sugar when once out of the shop, and school out or college over our student returns into the bosom of his family. Everything that student knows is the result of a distinct conscious effort. Now life is very short and our duties are many. The number of con-

scious efforts we can make is comparatively small, and the knowledge gained by such efforts is limited. But nature has kindly made a provision that much—perhaps the most—of our education is the result of unconscious assimilation. Human nature is indefinitely porous. The atmosphere we breathe has an immense, though unostentatious, influence upon us. Holmes speaks of having been bred amongst books, and of consequently having the same easy feeling amongst them that a stable boy has with horses. The boy who has grown up in a home where books and literature—things of the mind, in short—are, not necessarily supreme, but at all events part of the household life, has an immense advantage over the lad who finds a great gulf fixed between his home life and his school life. He has the same advantage that a lad bred in a counting house has in business over one who has grown up a bookworm. The victim of our ordinary home life strives hard for every intellectual fact he acquires, while the other leaps as by inheritance into much that the first has to work for, into much that he will never attain. The one student will bear from College his training of hard earned facts; he will be well up in the subjects he has studied, and he will be ignorant of all else. The other will know his special subject, but will also have that familiarity with all the things of the mind that we call culture. The one will be a tradesman with certain—possibly very extensive—information as his stock in trade. The other will be an educated man in the true sense of the word.

Possibly I have gone too far. Far be it from me to say that no one who has not had these primary advantages can become truly educated. But he who without their help has become a cultured man has surmounted immense difficulties. So has the man who has made his own fortune surmounted immense difficulties; and we recognize the greatness of both. But do we wish to have our children paupers to give them a chance of becoming the architects of their own fortunes? Should we give them a materialistic home training that if they do become cultured they may have the greater credit?

For it is in the home that the reformation of our schools must begin. We may murmur at the materialistic tendency of education—but

the schools are as good as they can well be. It is in the home that the book atmosphere may be breathed; alas, it is in the home that the materialistic hand-to-mouth tone of thought is learned. Canada is a new country, and it is not surprising that we are a materialistic people. It is in the future that school reformation lies. That work will be done by those who have some light, some glimpses of higher than bread and butter considerations, by their holding fast what they have gained, and their passing it on to a younger generation who may go on from strength to greater strength. We Canadians are in a transition stage; in the name of all worth having let us make it a short one, and hasten the day when mind shall have some share of the attention now engrossed by matter. C.F.H.

## COLLEGE NEWS.

### SCIENCE HALL.

ON the 16th of last month the new Science Hall was formally opened. A large audience was present in the main lecture room, and the close attention they paid showed that they did not regret having come. Among those present were the Chancellor, the Minister of Education, Mr. MacFarlane, of Ottawa, the Dominion Analyst, and a good number of Kingston's prominent citizens.

The proceedings were opened by the Principal, who gave an interesting account of how the ways and means for building the Hall had been secured, and of the various gifts which have been presented. In the course of his speech he paid a well-merited tribute to the memory of the late John Carruthers, whose name the Hall bears. Prof. Dupuis then gave an account of the growth of Science in Queen's, from its humble beginning in what is now Prof. Fletcher's kitchen to the present. This was followed by addresses from Dr. Goodwin and Mr. Nicol on Chemical subjects, and an excellent speech by Mr. MacFarlane, after which the Chancellor read a most interesting paper on "Parliamentary vs. Party Government." The audience then adjourned to an upper room, where the kindness of the ladies of Kingston had provided a most excellent five o'clock tea. From this the students, with characteristic modesty, kept away. However, the ladies very kindly invited them to come over after the

evening meeting, an invitation which was heartily accepted.

The best address was without doubt that of Prof. Dupnisi. It was bright, humorous, and unaffected. The difficult task of telling what the speaker himself had done, without appearing either conceited or over-modest, was admirably performed. Indeed, the evident lack of self-consciousness on the part of the speaker was one of its great charms. And yet if anyone ever had a right to be conceited, that person is Prof. Dupnisi. When he came no Chemistry worth the name was taught in Queen's. Now a large building, fitted with every modern appliance, is devoted to it alone. And this almost solely through his exertions. Others have come to his aid of late years, but his has always been the master-hand, and never once has he erred.

The other addresses were on the whole good, though the Chancellor's was rather long, and Dr. Goodwin's uninteresting. While doubtless an accurate and complete account of certain Chemical discoveries, it was more fitted for a class lecture than for an afternoon address. The list of donations read by the Principal shows that the friends of Queen's have still the same feelings towards her as of old, and we are glad to see that on Monday last the Principal was able to report further contributions. Though no Redpath or Workman arise for us, all will be well if Queen's students and graduates pull on together as they have hitherto done.

#### CONVOCATION.

The exercises connected with Convocation drew the usual large and appreciative audience of the friends and patrons of Queen's. The gallery was reserved for students, who made their presence known by the customary quota of songs and unnecessary remarks, until the members of Senate and distinguished visitors had entered the Hall. After the opening prayer by the Registrar the winners of Arts Matriculation Scholarships received mention and reward. The Inaugural Address of Dr. Dyde gave ample evidence to the fact that he had made a thorough study of his subject: "Greek Idealists." The accession to the staff of Queen's of so able an assistant in the department of Philosophy will be hailed with genuine pleasure by all who take a pride in the growth of the University.

The visitor of the evening, Hon. G. W. Ross, Minister of Education for the Province of Ontario, was heartily received. His address has appeared in public print and cannot but win the admiration of all who are interested in the great cause of universal education. The iceberg of ignorance and superstition that was developed in the middle ages is slowly melting away under the burning rays of earnest, resolute, united action. The important influence which the cause of education has upon the destiny of mankind, and the close connection which it has with national vitality, should lead all to unite in hearty co-operation with those who are in any way closely connected with its progress. The structure whose foundations are laid in the primary schools of the Province finds its culmination in the University. And the hundreds of young men and women equipped for the battle of life and armed in the cause of education who are graduated from the University walls, be that University called by one name or by another, should be no small source of encouragement to all who are laboring in the common cause.

In the interests of the Medical department of the University work, Dr. Cranston, of Arnprior, next addressed Convocation. He sketched the origin and progress of medical science from the earliest times, noting many interesting points connected with the inventions and discoveries which have placed the medical profession upon a solid basis. He concluded his paper by a few words of encouragement and admonition to the students of Queens.

After a short address from the Principal, in which the kindly feelings of the Minister of Education were reciprocated, Rev. Prof. Mowat dismissed the audience with the Benediction.

#### DIVINITY HALL.

The Theological Faculty was formally opened on Monday evening, Nov. 2nd. After a short prayer by Rev. Mr. Mackie, the Principal read out the results of the Matriculation exams. in Medicine and Theology, and called upon Prof. Fowler to read his Inaugural. Prof. Fowler then read a very interesting address upon "The Antiquity of Man in America." He described fully the various recent discoveries bearing upon the subject, showing that it had been proven conclusively that Man had been in North America before

the close of the glacial epoch. The Professor then discussed the various methods of fixing the date of this epoch, showing that it cannot reasonably be believed to have ended more than seven or eight thousand years ago. While the lecture dealt with the subject most thoroughly and scientifically, it was written in language of studied simplicity and could be easily followed by those who had no technical knowledge of Science. It was listened to with attention and thoroughly enjoyed by all present.

#### A. M. S.

The Alma Mater Society has commenced the session of '91-'92 with unusual spirit. The attendance has been large, the discussions free and vigorous. If the executive committee, instead of leaving this energy to find its own outlet, will apply itself diligently to provide good programmes, there is no reason why this session should not be the most successful for many years. The class of '95 has so far attended well, let the meetings be made so interesting and profitable now that they will be led to form habits of regular attendance by which they will act throughout their course.

It is true that the orderly transaction of business is the most interesting and the most profitable part of the society's work. Still there is not sufficient business to keep up a continued interest for very long. Two hours of discussion upon a report from the athletic committee, if carefully governed by the rules of order, will do the members more good than the most carefully prepared formal debate; but reports which will provoke such discussions cannot come up every night, and by immediately providing some good programmes the Executive will take advantage of the best opportunity of improving the society which has presented itself for some time.

\* \* \*

The Alma Mater met upon the first Saturday evening of the session, when a long list of notices of motions was handed in. The athletic committee was called upon to report *re* the gymnasium.

At the second meeting Mr. A. E. Lavell, on behalf of a special committee, reported a new university yell, which was received with great enthusiasm and practised for some time. The

practice of college songs, which has been so neglected for a few sessions, was revived with so much spirit as to give the reporter of one of the city dailies the idea that it would hereafter form the chief feature of the meetings.

The reports of the retiring Business Manager of the JOURNAL, and the retiring curators of the Reading Room, showed that those departments were in a satisfactory state. The curators of the Reading Room were re-elected in a body. The senior classes in Arts and Medicine have been asked to take strict measures to exclude all except students from the gallery at meetings of convocation, and thus prevent the rowdiness of the 16th from being repeated.

\* \* \*

The freshman classes in Arts and Medicine have been received as members. And Rev. Dr. Reid, of Toronto, and Asst. Professor Wm. Nicol, M.A., have been elected honorary members.

\* \* \*

The chief business to come up at the meeting on Nov. 7th will be the report of the athletic committee *re* the gymnasium.

#### COLLEGE NOTES.

The Y. W. C. A. reception held at Miss Nettie Anglin's —of which an account will be given later—was a very pleasant affair. All the lady students of both Colleges were in attendance, and the sceptical ones who feared the lack of the male element would be seriously felt soon discovered their error, and frankly acknowledged that girls were nicer than boys to talk to anyway. Perhaps the boys agree with them.

Will the Professor who remarked that he liked to hear "the hum of girlish voices about the halls" please step forward? Reserved places in our Hero Gallery are being rapidly filled up, but room shall certainly be made for him.

A. Walker, '94, has gone to Knox College. '94 has added another new man, Mr. Sills, to its already large class.

There are 33 ladies attending classes in Arts of whom ten are freshmen.

H. C. Windel is at present unable to attend classes on account of sickness.

J. Kirkwood, '95, has been very unfortunate. He was in attendance on classes but a short

time when he was taken sick with typhoid fever and had to be taken to the hospital, and on Tuesday came a telegram announcing the death of his brother from the same disease.

The Levana Elections were held last week, and for economy of time, breath, and money they certainly were unique. We do not propose to take the general public behind the scenes, but many a weary politician might have got some helpful lessons therefrom. The following officers were elected:

Hon. President—Miss A. Campbell.  
President—Miss M. Allen.  
Vice President—Miss Rayside.  
Secretary—Miss Kean.  
Treasurer—Miss Donovan.  
Critics—Miss Odell and Miss Snyder.  
Curators—Miss Harvey and Miss J. Barr.

If the class poet of each year will kindly drop his, or her, contribution on our sanctum plate the offering will be tenderly cared for.

The Arts Society elections were held in the English Class Room on Oct. 24th, when the following officers were elected:

President—A. E. Ross, '92.  
Treasurer—James Stewart, '92.  
Secretary—A. D. Menzies, '92.  
Committee men from junior year—A. Haydon, D. W. Best.

From Sophomore year—J. Johnston.  
From Freshmen year—J. Kirkwood.

The Executive Committee of the Arts Society held a meeting on Tuesday evening, and decided to interview all those Arts men who did not vote at the elections.

The students in modern languages are endeavoring to form a modern language society.

There are 235 students in Arts as compared with 223 last year.

The new Yell:—

Queen's! Queen's! Queen's!  
Oil thigh na Banrighinn gu brath!  
Cha gheill! Cha gheill! Cha gheill!

The gallery, on the occasion of public meetings in Convocation Hall, is reserved for undergraduates of the University. If the students wish to avoid the harsh criticism of their friends, they will see to it that rowdies and street arabs are not allowed to enter that part of the building. Groaning during prayers is an offence of which no student of Queen's

would be guilty, and we hope that in future the senior year of the University will take the matter in hand.

The Arts Society elections were not patronized so generally as they should have been. The object of the Society is certainly a worthy one—the doing away with the infinitude of collections and subscription lists of former years—and as such it deserves the financial support of every student. Do not allow anyone to say that you failed to carry your share of the necessary expenses connected with the Football team, Reading Room, &c. The money must be raised in some way and there is no better way of doing it than for each student to present himself and his fee at the polls on Arts Election Day. Those who failed to do so this year will receive a call from the Committee man of their year. To those who fail to pay then—*beware the Ides of March !!*

#### WOMAN'S MEDICAL COLLEGE.

The weekly meeting of the Arts and Medical Y. W. C. A. was held in the college at 4 p.m. on Sunday. Miss White led the meeting, which was full of interest to all present. A discussion was held at the close as to how infidel questioners should be answered by christians. The subject will be continued at the next meeting.

A few days ago the Glee Club of the W. M. C. spent an evening with one of their seniors. Their harmonious rendering of several choice selections resounded from cellar to garret. Even the students, busy at their work, dropped their books to listen with ecstasy at the uncommon sound. "Come again, girls."

Freshies' query: "What has become of that muscle?"

Who owns the owl?

#### THE OWL MAID.

In a fort on a hill, near a city of fame,  
Dwelt an owl of the soberest mien,  
Whose evening 'too-who' had an accent the  
same

As the sage philosophic so keen.

Here dwelt he and pondered for many a day,  
And for many a night sought again,  
A gruesome retreat in the town o'er the bay,  
Where a 'sub' on a table had lain.

For one venturesome evening, wandering far,  
He had sought in a barn to repose,  
But the sight as he entered and lit on a bar  
Had chilled his young blood. He arose;

For a young lady 'med.' as he entered had said,  
"Now here's the 'external oblique';"  
As with keen sweeping knife she carved from  
the dead  
A slice like an elephant's cheek.

He fled to his home in the fort on the hill,  
But one day to visit it came  
That same lady 'med', who with knife looked  
so ill,  
As she gave to that muscle a name.

He saw her and shuddered, fell limp to the  
ground;  
She caught him. To fly he essayed,  
But now she has caged him with bars round  
and round,  
And in College she's ealled the "Owl Maid."  
*'Avis Noctis.'*

## EXCHANGE.

**S**igns of reanimation in the editorial sanctum come to us from our eousins to the south. Lehigh Burr, Columbia *Spectator*, *Delphic*, of Des Moines, Ia., *Rambler*, of Illinois, *Notre Dame Scholastic*, and others. Glad to see you!

"The Owl" is evidently in close sympathy with its alumnii. Their frequent contributions to the literary columns are a worthy example for Queen's Alumni—et Alumnae.

Dalhousie *Gazette* presents herself for admiration in a new and most becoming dress. Her speech is in keeping with her attire. Hearty congratulations!

"Hints to Freshmen" in Columbia *Spectator* are not without point for the class of '95.

All undergraduates of John Hopkins are required to pass an exam. in gymnastics.

## DE NOBIS.

**P**LEASE, if they would only tell the poor freshmen what to do, they'd do it sure, and not be courted.—[McN-II, '95.]

I'm only taking twelve classes this year. I'd take thirteen though, only the Prof. is so inconsiderate he won't put on Physics after tea.—[McK-nz-e, '95.]

I'll tell you what's the matter with you, Ritchie, you are training down too fine. You've been patronizing the new gym. too much; you'd better lay off for a week.—[A. H. Spurgeon McR.]

I say, T. B. S., save your money and go to the "Two Johns."—[G. C.-r-ts.]

Tnne, "Bull Dog"—

Davy M-r-l on a chair,  
Annie Abbott on her " flat feet,"  
He couldn't lift her worth a cent,  
Remarkable was that feat,  
Singing tra-la-la-la-la, etc.

I say the Principal's remarks were gentlemanly in the extreme, and his kindly notice of the Freshmen and Theologues was in his own imitable style.—[A. K.]

I hereby offer to out-play anybody in the world at the position of quarter-back for \$25,000,000.—[A. B-r-n.]

I'll take you.—[J. McD-n-ld, '92.]

The new yell, as it will probably appear about the year 1901—

Oilyvanblarieom,  
Kawhig! Kawhig!! Kawhig!!!

The Cadets were now on their *metal*, and were running arond with their eyes full of wild looks, etc., etc.—[VanBlaricom, in the *Whig*.]

He's off side, Mr. Referee; I saw him.—[Alfie.]

I feel to-day like Jonah when he was swallowed by the whale—down in the mouth.—[The Colt, Nov. 2nd.]

What's the matter with my colts.—[H. R. G-t.]

After the Queen's-Varsity match—

"Broke! Broke!! Broke!!!  
On the cold gray stones, Q.C."  
—[Sporting Soph.]

Marquis and Cameron are strong and heavy but very slow.—[B-k-r, '95.]

I belong to the class of '93.—[J. R-In-ds.]

Under the constraining influence of "The Old Ontario Strand," I am quite willing to remain five minutes over time, but I can't exactly see throngh that quasi geological fact about the "Hole in the Bottom of the Sea."—[Prof. C. on College Songs.]

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SUPPLEMENT.

# PARLIAMENTARY VS. PARTY GOVERNMENT.

AN ADDRESS DELIVERED AT THE OPENING OF QUEEN'S UNIVERSITY,  
OCTOBER 16th, 1891, BY CHANCELLOR FLEMING.

At the beginning of the session, when our professors have returned from their well earned holiday and students are again present from all sections of the Dominion, it will not be considered ill-timed or inappropriate that on our reassembly I should say a few words on a subject of common concern to every individual in the community and to none more than to those connected with educational institutions.

The matter which I take upon myself to bring to your notice involves the consideration of an evil to which it is impossible to shut our eyes, and in the removal of which every honest minded person is directly interested; and this fact will I am sure be accepted as my reason for dealing with it specifically. Wherever there is a public evil, there is a public wrong to be righted; and it becomes a duty, which we owe to the community, to apply our utmost intelligence to discover the proper remedy, and act with energy in its application. The theme of my address is *Party Government* versus *Parliamentary Government*.

At the recent prolonged meeting of parliament at Ottawa, there was brought to light a series of transactions, which have given a shock to the moral sense of many of our people. These revelations will little surprise those who are familiar with public affairs in the United States.

I believe I am correct in saying, that in Canada we have not reached the length which our neighbours have attained in what passes by the name of "polities." Methods and practices have, however, been introduced into our public life, in some respects the same as theirs, and if our system has not yet reached the same development we may reasonably expect that if we continue on the path which they have

followed and which we have entered upon, we shall in course of no long time arrive at the same goal.

In a work recently issued from the press, "Bryce's American Commonwealth," there are twenty-three chapters devoted exclusively to the subject of government by party, and many of the other chapters have a bearing on the same matter. Within the pages of this valuable and instructive work we find a full and detailed account of the party system which prevails among our neighbours. The author describes at length the business of the politician, the machinery of parties, how it works and what it effects. He reveals the fact that the machinery has many and costly ramifications, and that a great deal of money is required to keep it in motion. Where the money comes from is another question. He points out that "the politicians themselves belong to, or emerge from a needy class" and the funds generally must come from other sources than the pockets of the men most actively engaged, but from whatever source money may in the first place be obtained, the startling conclusion is irresistibly reached that "the whole cost in the long run is thrown on the public."

At the first glance it is not easy to see that this conclusion can apply to the party out of power and in no position to help themselves. The author, however, explains that its members live on hope; they hope that they will eventually succeed in overthrowing their opponents and are buoyed up with the belief that the minority of to-day will be the majority of tomorrow. He points out that as a fund must be raised meanwhile to carry on the struggle, the vassals of the party are assessed and subscriptions levied on manufacturers, contractors, office seekers and expectants generally. Thus,

claims are established on the spoils which sooner or later will come under the control of the party. When the victorious day arrives, the expectants do not as a rule allow their claims to be forgotten.

One thing clearly brought out by the author is, that enormous sums are expended by each party contending for the mastery. Those engaged in the conflict, maintain journals, employ writers, speakers, canvassers and agitators; in fact an army of professional politicians finds employment in this kind of warfare. The necessity of a party fund is apparent. If money is the root of all evil, it is likewise the main-spring of party activity; the greater the activity, the larger the demand on the purses of those who have something to give, or something to expect.

Party organizations on both sides are on an elaborate scale, and nothing is left undone by each contestant to advance party interest. It is civil war on a gigantic scale. There are hostile camps everywhere. The nation is formed into two divisions, each division contending and struggling for the supremacy. The rank and file are drilled by the professional politicians, who manage the nominations, dictate who are to be the candidates, and generally direct the contest so as to carry the elections. The party managers are, for the most part, men who make politics the sole, or chief business of their lives, and who live and flourish by the occupation. The list, not seldom, includes ministers of state, or those who expect to be ministers, members of congress, or those who expect to be members; it also comprises those, who make the party to which they are attached a stepping stone to power and place; and who if they do not at once attain their ends, are rewarded meanwhile if in no other way by the excitement which is stimulated by contest.

The fullest and most painstaking enquiry into the whole system leads the author to describe the general result in the following words: "The tremendous power of party organization has been described. It enslaves local officials, it increases the tendency to regard members of congress as mere delegates, it keeps men of independent character out of local and national politics, it puts bad men into place, it perverts the wishes of the

"people, it has in some places set up a tyranny "under the form of democracy."

This conclusion arrived at by the latest independent authority is not disputed in any quarter. It is supported by every writer of any note. Albert Stickney in "Democratic Government," 1885, says: "The practical result of the present political system in the United States, "which at first sight seems in form so thoroughly democratic, has been to develop the "most ingenious and remarkable tyranny "known in all political history. \* \* The "political life of the nation is a never-ending "struggle for political power between rival "factions—all of them brought into existence "by the same cause, obeying the same laws, "using the same methods, compelled, whether "they wish to or not, to prostitute the power "of public office to personal ends. The result "is a new kind of tyranny—the tyranny of the "election machine. Under this system political freedom for the citizen cannot exist."

Henry George in "Social Problems," 1890, writes: "Speaking generally of the "whole country from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the lakes to the gulf, our government by the people has in large degree become, is in larger degree becoming, government by the strong and unscrupulous. \* \* "Money and organization tell more and more "in elections. In some sections bribery has "become chronic, and numbers of voters expect regularly to sell their votes. In some sections large employers regularly bulkaze their "hands into voting as they like. In Municipal, "State and Federal politics the power of the "machine" is increasing. In many places "it has become so strong that the ordinary "citizen has no more influence on the government under which he lives than he would "have in China. He is, in reality, not one of "the governing classes but one of the governed. \* \* And he is beginning to accept the "situation and leave politics to politicians, as "something with which an honest, self-respecting man cannot afford to meddle. \* \* The "type of the rising party leader is not the "orator or statesman of an earlier day, but "the shrewd manager who knows how to handle the "workers," how to combine pecuniary "interests, how to obtain money and how to "spend it." The same writer in another place referring to the party organization, says: "It

"members carry wards in their pockets, make up the slates for nominating conventions, "distribute offices as they bargain together, "and—though they toil not neither do they "spin—wear the best of raiment and spend "money lavishly. And who are these men? "The wise, the good, the learned; men who "have earned the confidence of their fellow- "citizens by the purity of their lives, the splen- "dour of their talents, their probity of public "trust, their deep study of the problems of "government? No; they are gamblers, saloon "keepers, pugilists, or worse, who have made "a trade of controlling votes and of buying "and selling offices."

An equally well-known writer, Dr. Goldwin Smith, remarks: "A national conflict every four years for the Presidency, and the enormous patronage that is now annexed to it, "must bring everything that is bad to the top, "and will end in the domination of scoundrels. The moral atmosphere is darkened "with calumny, bribery and corruption and all "their fatal effects upon national character. "How can the political character of any nation withstand forever the virns of evil pas- "sion and corruption which these vast faction "fights infuse."

We have thus described to us the character of the machinery which controls political affairs in the republic. Writers generally affirm that public life has become so foul that the best men and the finest intellects take no part in the business of the nation; that these have been driven off the field and polities have now to a large extent become a prey to unprincipled plunderers.

It is well to know something about the road we are travelling, and I read these extracts so that we may understand whether we are going and what is before us if we continue as we have commenced. So long as we travel smoothly and pleasantly we do not think of making enquiries concerning the way. But when we come to "bad spots," then we ask the next traveller we meet the condition of the road before us. That is exactly our case in political affairs. We have stumbled on a stretch of rough ground; we enquire the character of the way we have to pass over, and those familiar with it tell us, that it becomes worse and worse, terminating in a quagmire. With this information, unless we are fatuously blind and

criminally indifferent to our fate, we call a halt and consider as to the attempt we should make to find a better route.

The political path followed in the United States is "partyism," and we plainly see where it has landed our neighbours. In Canada we have not yet travelled so far, but if anything be wanting to show that we are hurrying on in the same direction, let me read a few sentences from a good authority, the *Halifax Herald*, the chief organ of one of the parties in Nova Scotia. Within the last few days (Oct. 12), that newspaper, in a leading article, expressed these opinions: "Those who are acquainted with the political methods of either "party might, we presume, furnish the public "with an interesting experience of the use "and abuse of campaign funds. \* \* Party "government is an institution in itself, recog- "nized under the political constitution of the "country. The organization of a party, its "maintenance, and successful working all ne- "cessitate large financial outlay. \* \* The "money must be raised, and those who refuse "to contribute their fair share only increase the "temptation ever present to the party workers "to obtain funds from those who have a finan- "cial interest in the success of one party or "the other. It is useless to ignore existing "conditions. The struggle between rival "parties will continue. Funds for political "purposes must be raised. It is, therefore, "the duty of all good citizens to contribute "according to their means; and if they fail to "do so, the political organizations of rival "parties must be thrown more and more into "the hands of those who contribute to their "support from corrupt or selfish motives."

I believe I am warranted in saying that in Canada partyism is not yet developed to the extent described in the United States, but recent disclosures show the tendency in public life, and it is perfectly clear that if we act on similar principles and follow the same headlong course we cannot fail to reap the same or similar evil consequences.

We know that there are good men on both sides of polities. It is not the want of men, patriotic, public-spirited and able, that we have to deplore, it is the malign influences of the system by which they are enslaved. The best men are dragged downwards by the party maelstrom, and once within its vortex they

become powerless to escape from its baleful embrace.

The low tone of public life, which we Canadians have already reached, is evidenced by the fact, that no ordinary man in his private dealings, would do that which by a singular obliquity of moral sense is considered unobjectionable in party ethics. It seems to be well understood on both sides, that dishonesty in almost any form only becomes an offence when detection follows; and if we judge our politicians as described by themselves or by the partisan press, there are few indeed of whose public or private character it is possible to form an exalted opinion.

It is not necessary to go far a field for evidence of the demoralizing tendency of the political system practised in our own land. The proceedings of the last few months clearly indicate that we have already made a most disquieting progress in our downward course. Can nothing be done to turn it in a right direction? The universal law is that there must be progress. Nothing remains stationary. If we permit the system to remain as it is, the progress will continue downwards; and the experience of our neighbors teaches us that as time rolls on we will make the descent at a greatly accelerated speed.

We may one and all ask the question what in this emergency are we to do? We do not want retrogression or degradation. We do not desire to go from bad to worse. Our object should be improvement and advancement.

If this be our aspiration there are certain things which we must not do. We must not fold our hands in despair and leave politics and political affairs wholly to the politicians. We must not close our eyes to the misdeeds which have been brought to light in our own land, or to the experience derived from the United States. The past history of politics in both countries will be of benefit to us if we only determine to profit by it. We must not listen to that school of politicians, who tell us that government by party is the only means of carrying on free institutions; that it is impossible to attain to good government without opposing parties. We must be prepared to dismiss from our minds the dogma that partyism is a necessity, however ably or by whatever number the assertion be made.

Government by party has been practised in the United States for a hundred years; in England for two centuries; in Canada it may be traced from the first year of her legislative existence. In all three countries it has been tried and found wanting. I think, I cannot be wrong in laying down the axiom, that no system, however deeply rooted by long usage, however strengthened by prejudice, if founded on evil or productive of evil, can be considered a finality.

The party system divides a nation into two halves; in itself an evil. It is based on principles which nurture some of the worst passions of our nature. It is productive, as everyone must admit, of intolerable evils; and on every ground we are warranted in the conclusion, that this system should not be held as sacred, or unassailable and unalterable.

If that much be conceded to us, we may venture a step further and consider if it be at all possible to make a change for the better, a wise and beneficial change. It must be clear to everyone that we cannot continue in the old way, shutting our eyes to what is going on around us. Do not all the facts, all the testimony from every quarter, establish that the old way leads downwards to a lower and lower plane of political demoralization?

It is historically true, that the spirit and force of party organizations have, in past generations, been an essential, possibly in some cases, the chief factor in Government. At this day, the system is upheld by men of eminence whose opinions deserve to carry weight. There is indeed a traditional idea of wide prevalence, that the party system alone will suit a free people; and that the principles upon which it is based are essential to purity of government. Do the facts, may we ask, establish that the party system has resulted at any period of our history in purity of public life, or has it effected the opposite result? Has it been proven, that the contentions and discords and conflicts of partyism are in any way conducive to our national well-being? Is it the case that subjection to traditional party spirit is indispensable to our freedom?

Let every thoughtful man, whatever his predilections, consider these questions carefully and dispassionately, and it will become more and more clear to him, that the party system of government, which we have inherited

as the accompaniment of representative institutions, is no longer a necessity; that its usefulness has come to an end, that it has in its latest development grown to be a positive evil; and that it should now be replaced by another system better adapted to the improved intelligence and altered circumstances of the age.

Within the present century, scientific methods have made conquests over traditional methods in nearly every sphere of life. In agriculture, in commerce and in mechanical art the traditional spirit has disappeared, and given place to the scientific spirit. We find that in spinning, weaving, printing, lighting, heating, telegraphing, travelling by land and sea, and in nearly every human engagement we can name, the scientific method has irrevocably superseded traditional methods. Is the great question we are now discussing to prove an exception? Is the art of government to remain outside the pale of progress? Surely parliamentary development has not reached its ultimate stage, and public affairs for ever must be administered according to the principles of the prize ring. Heaven forbid! Can we not discern some small glimmerings of light, following perhaps the deepest darkness preceding the dawn? Is it not the case that in modern times the power of tradition has been weakened and that its authority is steadily declining? May we not, therefore, cherish the hope that it may be dethroned in political life; that we shall not always remain victims of a superstitious belief in the system of government by party; and that this fair land shall not forever be the battlefield of gregarious politicians? What this young nation wants is not endless political conflict with all its accompanying evils, but settled rest and peace.

Our people essentially democratic, and attached to representative institutions, will bear in mind that parliamentary government and party government are not identical, indeed, that they are totally distinct. True they have been so long associated, that they have come to be considered inseparable, but reflection will make it clear to us that the connection, even if it be historical, is accidental, and that it is an erroneous popular notion, that a connection between them is a necessary consequence.

The tendency of events suggests that im-

portant changes must eventually be made in the structure of parliament itself. Such changes are needed in the direction of unity, simplicity and strength. Our parliament is supposed to represent the nation; but as at present constituted it practically comprises but the representatives of two parties. The theory of parliament is an assembly of persons chosen by the whole body of electors with supreme authority to speak and act for the nation. The ideal parliament is the nation in essence, but the system followed in the election of members utterly fails to attain this desired end. Under the party systems it is absolutely impracticable to attain even an approximation to the ideal parliament. It is true that parliament, formed by means of the existing system, assumes the functions of a perfectly constituted national assembly; but its members represent only a part of the nation, and those who support the administration of the day, and keep it in power, form a still smaller representative part. Take for example the parliament formed after the general election of 1887. The government had on this occasion the largest support given to any administration since Canada became a Dominion; and yet, including every vote polled for government candidates who were defeated at the elections, the supporters of the administration represented only 39 per cent. of the whole body of electors. The opposition members represented 37 per cent. of the whole, counting also the votes polled for the defeated candidates on their side. Thus it becomes perfectly obvious, that a large majority of the people, whatever party may rule, has no part whatever through representatives, in the administration of public affairs. In the case referred to, 61 per cent. of the whole body of electors had no share in the government of the country. The administration was supported by the representatives of 39 per cent. and it was opposed by those of 37 per cent. in every measure carried in the house by a party vote; leaving as a net balance, the representatives of only two per cent. of the electors to determine legislation, to settle the policy of the government, and to speak and act for the nation with the whole weight and supreme authority of parliament. I have presented no extreme case. If we take the results of the recent general elections (1891), it

will be found that the number of votes cast for government candidates was only 33 per cent. of the electors, and the government net majority in the house represents but one-and-a-half per cent. of the total number of voters on the list. As a matter of fact, the system of government by party enables a minority, frequently a small minority, to seize and hold control of the affairs of state, and award to its friends office, power and patronage with every one of the prizes of party victory. All outside the lines of the successful party are systematically ignored. Do not the facts prove that party government is opposed to the true theory of parliamentary government? Is it surprising that in working out the party system the struggle becomes so fierce, and that ways and means are resorted to, which shock the sensibility of even party men when they come to be exposed to the light of day?

What is the remedy for the state of things which now prevails? It is not far to seek, and it involves no great constitutional change. We have simply to obey the law of perpetual evolution so that our parliament may become freer and better than it ever has been. We have only to free it from the trammels of party and obtain an assembly which will represent the people in fact as well as in name. Hitherto we have had the shadow, now let us have the substance. In all previous parliaments a part only of the electors, and not necessarily the best part, has been represented. Why should any portion be excluded? Should not the supreme national assembly command the confidence and reverence of the whole people? To obtain their confidence and reverence it is obvious that our parliament should represent the whole, and consist as far as possible of the wisest and best men the entire nation has to offer.

This is the true conception of a parliament for a democratic people such as we are, and we must seek to obtain such a parliament if we wish to escape from the evils which at present beset us. Denouncing the politicians for the inevitable consequences of a bad system, as some of our people do, is an easy matter; but it is folly to suppose that this alone will bring any permanent remedy. Politicians are human as we are, and they become precisely what the people make them, or allow

them to make themselves. If the people so will, and take the proper course to effect their purpose, the school of politicians which flourishes to-day will disappear.

Having the clearest evidence that we have never had and never can have a perfectly constituted parliament under existing political usages; having the best grounds for the belief that the system which prevails is hastening us to a condition of political subjection, to an oligarchy of the worst kind, such as we find in the United States; being satisfied on these points, every good citizen must feel the responsibility resting upon him that he should do his utmost to avert such a national calamity.

The first important step is to take means to have a perfectly constituted parliament. In Canada we have accepted the great fundamental principle that "the people is the source of all law and all power," we must therefore strive to constitute our parliament so that it will represent not a part, as now, but the whole nation. This step cannot be taken without effecting other changes which would tend to the common welfare; the chief of which would be that a new complexion would be given to the government. We would no longer have a party government; the executive would proceed from the national assembly and thus would be the veritable focal point of the whole nation. The best and wisest members returned by the people could be chosen by parliament from its own members to sit at the same council board to guard public interests, administer the laws, and speak and act for the nation.

In a paper published in Volume VII of the Royal Society proceedings under the heading "A problem in political science," I have endeavoured to show that by the scientific adjustment of votes and the application of sound principles, the true parliament could be constituted. I cannot here enter into any extended explanation of the proposition. I must content myself with the statement, that in my judgment it is perfectly practicable by the proposed plan, even if no better can be devised, to extend to every elector full and equal representation, thus removing the anomalies I have pointed out.

The details of the machinery cannot here be discussed. Indeed, it would be premature to

deal with details in advance of principles; but the machinery may be of the simplest character, and being entirely national the cost would be made a direct charge on the state, as the cost of taking the census or of any other public service is borne by the public exchequer. The practical working of the system would be conducted by public officials, specially appointed and held responsible for the proper performance of their duties in the manner of other public officials. The cost of the proposed system of choosing representatives might be considerable; but it would fall far short of the cost of the present system, when the expenditure under two party organizations and every accessory charge are taken into account. Moreover, the whole would be open and above suspicion, and there would be no room for improper practices. Whatever the cost, it would render party organization nugatory, and the gain to the public would be incalculable. Legislation would certainly be greatly simplified. The sessions of parliament would no longer be prolonged through the interminable and profitless discussions which proceed from party strife. There would be great economy of time and money; but however great this economy, it would be of small moment compared with the more important benefits which would result generally from the overthrow of a pernicious system, entirely out of joint with the march of events.

Partyism has an historical origin. It was born in troublesome times, when the spirit of antagonism between classes was general, and when the masses of people were in a ruder condition than they now are. As the ages succeed each other, the spirit of humanity changes with the advance of civilization. We have long passed out of the age of fierce and cruel persecutions. We have left behind us the spirit of conflict and destruction, and have entered the marvellous period of construction and production. Our lives are now more happily passed in the peaceful era of human justice and human reason. If we have left behind the belligerent ages, would it be in advance of our time to abandon political methods in civil life, which keep alive the spirit of conflict and maintain usages which are opposed to true progress? In intelligent communities at the present day partyism can be viewed only as an anachronism.

Consider for a moment the consequence if

partyism were introduced into modern commercial life. Take a bank, an insurance company or any large business concern. Introduce the principle of partyism into the management, what would follow? We should in each case have a house divided against itself, and how long would it stand?

Suppose the directors of a railway company were divided, as parties are ranged in parliament. The persistent endeavour of one portion of the board would be directed to keeping the trains in motion; while the other portion as persistently would do their utmost to throw obstacles in the way. Would the public reap any advantage from the antagonism? Would the shareholders receive dividends?

Take this university. How long would it prosper, how long would it maintain its ground and be useful to the community, if partyism gained a footing so as to cause continual contentions and strife among the trustees, or the senate, or the council.

Consider the consequences if partyism were allowed to enter into the proceedings of the great annual assemblies of the several religious denominations. Would it be justifiable on any ground? Would any one of these important bodies perform its functions so speedily and so well? Each one of these great gatherings partakes of the character of parliament, and might with advantage in some respects be imitated. An enormous amount of business is brought before them, and ordinarily they do more in one week than they could in ten weeks if party tactics, such as are displayed at Ottawa, prevailed.

Take a much humbler illustration. Take an ordinary row boat, allow the crew to fight among themselves, or suppose the rowers determined to pull in opposite directions. It is needless to say there would be much agitation of the water, but little or no satisfactory progress.

These several illustrations will bring out the well established fact, that to the extent that conflict is provoked, satisfactory results are lessened; and that under all ordinary circumstances, conflict is a wasteful expenditure of force. This rule must apply to political and national affairs as to everything else; and viewing the question before us from all points, we are led to the conclusion that there is no logical justification for partyism in this age.

In order to supersede partyism, it is not at all necessary to broach any new doctrine, revolutionary in its character. In reality the opposite is the case. The desire is to maintain the institution of parliament and make it more efficient, more perfect and more stable. The design is to realize the ideal national assembly in which every elector may have an equal voice. The aim is to maintain all that is good in the parliamentary system of government, and take away all that is defective and bad; to remove the worn out vestures of the past which are ill adapted to the growth of the nineteenth century. The great primary object is to establish unity and promote amity, and thus remove far from us the desolation which proceeds from "a kingdom divided against itself."

In my humble judgment the question of parliamentary representation is capable of scientific treatment, and it is safe to say that if so treated, partyism, as it now exists, with its baneful influences and demoralizing effects, would irrevocably be swept away. There are few questions which more deeply affect society and civilization. In the heat of party warfare it cannot be discussed fruitfully, and it is only in the intervals between conflicts, or under conditions removed from the struggle that calm reflection will avail. This question is the great problem of to-day; it has the strongest possible claim on the attention of every well-wisher of his country who has the qualifications to consider it carefully and dispassionately. I fear it has small chance of being so considered by those who place party triumph higher than country, or who regard fealty to party more binding than the laws of the decalogue. Such men are wanting in intellectual freedom to approach this subject appreciatively. Even those whose relations with political organizations are not close, so far as they are partisans are they wanting in the qualifications necessary to take a disinterested view of it? There are many men with whom party advancement and success have been the ruling motives; such men will naturally have a settled unwillingness to part company with old associations and the party spirit inherent to them. They will cling with tenacity to their deeply rooted habit of thought. They will extol the advantages of party government. They will reiterate that government by party

is the only possible means of carrying on representative institutions. They will declare that the abolition of party would mean an end of all order and progress, and would prove the beginning of general desolation. Certain it is that government by party will never be reformed from within, and we may be well assured that every honest attempt to effect a change will be ridiculed as utopian or branded as a mischievous innovation. True partisans are not the men to yield without a struggle. They will never pull down their own ramparts and surrender their own citadel. The stronghold of partyism can only be sapped and mined by the slow process of public education, and eventually demolished through the common sense of the nation.

Whatever the present political condition, we may rest satisfied that the great heart of Canada is sound. We may depend upon it that so soon as the nation comes to understand the true nature of the malady, and that a remedy is possible and applicable, from that moment party government will be doomed.

There is but one cure for the disease under which we suffer. Laws may be passed to prevent scandals begotten of party exigencies; but ways will be found to elude them, let them be ever so stringent, so long as partyism exists. There is a rankling sore in the body politic. We may heal an ulcer on the surface, but the ulcer is but one of the symptoms, and so long as the deep-seated disease remains it will again break out in another spot or appear in another form. The true physician directs his attention to the source of the ailment, and by proper treatment removes the first cause of the evil and thus purifies the whole system. In this national matter in order to succeed, the same course must be followed; and whenever the mind of the nation becomes satisfied that it is the only effective means of getting rid of our political evils, then, and not till then, will partyism be dethroned.

How is the mind of the nation to be reached on this cardinal problem? The national mind is made up of many individual minds, each one of which is a minute fraction of the whole. These fractional parts must in the first place be moulded and instructed by men of rectitude, whose powers have been matured by study and observation, men who are watchful of the highest interests of the people. What

class better qualified by the nature of their calling for this noble and patriotic duty, than teachers, both lay and clerical, throughout the land. Obviously we must look mainly to the school, the college and the pulpit for the agencies to enlighten and elevate the individual mind, and, through the individual, the collective mind of the nation. We must first form private opinion, from which public opinion will slowly and surely form itself.

It may be objected that ministers of the gospel should not meddle with polities. If politics, degenerating into partyism, have become vicious and impure, so much the more is it the imperative duty of clergymen to employ every proper means to promote a sound and healthy moral tone for the benefit of the community. Is not Canada a christian land? Does not the census inform us that, with the exception of a few tribes of Pagan Indians and a few hundred Jews, we are from sea to sea all christians? On what ground then should the christian teacher be debarred from assuming all the duties of his office? Can he indeed throw off the grave responsibility which rests upon him? Can he neglect the high duty of using every opportunity to restore public life to a healthy and more upright character? Merely party issues in which no moral element is involved should be absolutely excluded from every pulpit discourse; but a great question, such as this, in which the public morality, the purity, the honour and the lasting welfare of the whole nation is involved, should be fearlessly dealt with by every clergymen in the land. The influence of the pulpit has been and always will be great, and no better or more effective means can be found of enlightening the masses and elevating public opinion to a higher level. It was written a century ago: "the true cure for darkness is the introduction of light." Who better able to introduce light than those who have obtained its possession—the wise and the learned? Who more fitted to purge politics of its evils than those whose lives have been dedicated to morality and uprightness.

In this young country it is only in harmony with nature that everything should be in a condition of healthy growth. I know of no reason why our parliamentary system should not partake of the general improvement and advancement. At Ottawa a corner of the curtain has been raised sufficiently high to admit

of our seeing evidences of fundamental defects in governmental methods, and traces of grave obstacles to our progressive well being. I ask should it not be the earnest aim of every Canadian with the true patriotic spirit to seek to eradicate these defects and remove every obstacle which retards our growth and elevation as a people.

If this be a christian country surely the entire moral code of christianity should be binding on all, and on none more than our lawmakers. It is of unspeakable importance that we should find effective means to purify the fountain of legislation. It is a matter of public economy, public morality and public honour, and our hopes must rest on the three great educational factors which I have named. In this question, is involved the first and last needs of the Dominion and we must appeal to our best teachers of all creeds and in all places to set about the task of lifting politics out of partyism into a loftier and healthier atmosphere. True, there are enormous difficulties to be overcome, but the task is as noble as it is necessary and it is rendered nobler even if more difficult by the fact that we shall look in vain for a precedent, no other nation having led the way in any successful attempt to bring parliament up to its true ideal condition. The scientific movement of the nineteenth century has accomplished marvellous success, it has been crowned with peaceful victories far more wonderful and far more glorious than military conquests. If, in the new field, the calm voices of science and of reason can be heard through the din of party strife, it may be that Canada will do something to accomplish her destiny, by establishing a precedent which all nations possessing free institutions may follow.

We remember the familiar phrase "Canada first." These two short words have a strong sterling ring about them. Let Canada be the first in a movement towards a rectification of the national administration, and a recognition of happier political methods. Let the sons of Canada determine to be first in all that is good, to be in the front rank of the great family of British nations. What loftier ambition can we have than to elevate our country, and present Canada before all the nations of the earth, a bright example of vigorous, upright youth, in every respect worthy of the historic races from which we spring.

# A POLITICAL PROBLEM

A PAPER READ BY CHANCELLOR FLEMING BEFORE  
THE ROYAL SOCIETY.

I propose to direct attention to a scientific question within the domain of politics or civil government which appears to me to be of great interest. It presents a problem which up to the present time remains unsolved.

The institution of parliament, as we all know, is of ancient date. In England a general assembly or council of the nation has been held immemorially under various names. Before the conquest three designations were at various times assigned to it:

1. Mycel Synoth, or great synod.
2. Mycel Gemot, or great council.
3. Witenagemot, or council of the wise men.

The name of "Parliament" was not given to the National Council in England until after the Conquest, when the French language was exclusively used by the dominant class, and French became the official language of the English nation.

Parliament has greatly changed since its early days. It has grown and developed from century to century, and it may be said to be still in a condition of growth and development.

Whatever may have been the character of the meetings of the wise men before the Conquest, or of the Parliaments which followed, the central idea of parliament at the present day, is an assembly of individuals representing the whole nation. The functions of Parliament are to act on behalf of the nation as the supreme authority, and—representing the nation—it possesses every power and every right and every attribute which the nation possesses. The fundamental idea and guiding principle of Parliament is, that it embraces all the separate parts which compose the realm, and in fact it is the nation in essence.

This is the theoretical and proper idea of Parliament, but it cannot be affirmed that the ideal Parliament has ever yet been realized.

Indeed it may be held that the means taken to constitute Parliament cannot, in the nature of things, result in producing a national assembly in which every individual elector may be fairly represented and his voice heard. As a matter of fact, under the existing system, it is not practicable to have in the elective house every part of the nation represented: some parts must necessarily remain unrepresented.

Such being the case, the problem which science may be asked to solve, is simply this: *to devise the means of forming an elective assembly which practically as well as theoretically will be the nation in essence.*

What is commonly known as the "Government" or the "Administration," and how it may be constituted, form no part of the problem, but are separate questions which I do not propose to discuss. I merely submit as a general principle, that the Government may be considered in the light of a committee of Parliament, or executive council to carry into effect the acts and resolutions of Parliament and administer affairs to the approval of Parliament.

Nations differ in their social and political circumstances, but in all free countries, at least, it is generally recognized that the elective assembly is of the first importance. The theory of the elective assembly, is that the whole people or such of the people as are duly qualified to vote shall be equally represented. It cannot be said that hitherto this object has been even approximately attained. Its attainment may indeed be impracticable, but the question is of so much importance that it cannot be unworthy of grave consideration. May we not ask if it be possible to devise some means, by which the whole people of the realm may be brought to a central point, to a focus so to speak, in a deliberate assembly or Parliament.

The question of electing representatives to

sit in Parliament has received the attention of many political writers and has likewise been investigated at length by many celebrated geometers, who have recorded their dissent from the practices followed. Under the present system, members are elected by a part of the community only, while their election is opposed by another part. It is quite true that the intention is to have the majority of the people represented, but even this is not a necessary result of the existing system; moreover it does not follow that the majority of members returned will hold the views and opinions of the majority of the people on any subject. It may happen and frequently does happen, as a direct result of the present system, that legislative power is placed, not in the representatives of a majority, but in those who represent a minority. Sir John Lubbock gives an apt illustration of this result. He supposes a country in which there are 1,200,000 electors who vote with party *A*, and 1,000,000 who vote with party *B*. Now if the two parties are evenly distributed over the whole country, it is clear that, under the ordinary system of representation, the weaker party will be utterly swamped. To use a familiar illustration (he remarks) whenever you drop a bucket into the sea, you will bring up salt water. In such a case therefore the 1,000,000 will be practically unrepresented. But we must carry the matter a little further. In the House so elected, let the majority bring forward some bill of an advanced character and carry it by two to one, i. e., by the votes of members representing 800,000 electors and against those representing 400,000; in such a case it is clear that the minority in the House would have with them also the 1,000,000 in the country who were left unrepresented; so that in fact the measure would represent the wishes of only 800,000 electors, and would be opposed by those of 1,400,000. Thus he points out that the result of a system "of Government by majorities, is, on the contrary, to enable a minority of 800,000 to over-rule a majority of 1,400,000."

This illustrates only one of the many defects in the present system, but it is quite sufficient to show that the principle of Representative Government, which is inherently good, has not been realised. It is obvious from the very nature of the system practised in electing

members, that, in every Parliament, not the whole but only a part of the electors are represented, and that the representatives of a minority may frequently over-rule a majority of the people.

Take the present Parliament of our own Dominion, and in doing so we have a case in which all will acknowledge that the Administration at the present moment is supported by a large working majority of members. At the last General Election (Feb. 1887) the total number of voters on the lists in all the constituencies where contests took place was 948,524. Of this number the votes polled for one party were 370,342 and for the other 354,714. That is to say, 39 per cent. of the whole represents one party, and 37 per cent. the other party in Parliament. As the representatives of the 37 per cent. are swamped in Parliament and are in no way recognized in the administration of affairs, it follows that 39 per cent. of the electors through their representatives have complete control, and the remaining 61 per cent. have practically no voice in the government of the country. Moreover, as the election of members representing the 39 per cent. of votes was in every instance opposed by the voters who number 37 per cent. of the whole, it follows that on all questions settled on strict party lines, Parliament speaks and acts in its decisions by the members who represent but two per cent. of the whole body of electors. This is not an accidental but a common and, indeed, a necessary result, of the present system, which must continue so long as we follow the ordinary method of electing members to sit in Parliament.

The question presented is this: Is there any means whatever by which a national assembly can be formed approximating more closely to the ideal Parliament?

Let us begin the inquiry by assuming that the electorate consists of only two electors, that they are equal in all respects, in ability, integrity, in worldly means, in public spirit; that they have each equal claims and equal desires to act as representatives, and each is equally willing to be represented the one by the other.

Under such circumstances what course would be followed by the two to settle the question? Would not the natural method be to cast lots? Assuming that the two electors

were left to their own resources, removed from all outside influences, would not this be the only rational means by which they could make a choice?

There are doubtless some minds who would have an innate feeling against resorting to such practice; the casting of lots being more or less associated with dice-playing, lotteries and games of chance, to which objections are taken on good and sufficient grounds; but in the case presented there remains no way of reaching a decision except by lot. What other course could be followed? A contest would not mend matters; a trial of physical strength and endurance would be at once futile and indefensible. If the object be to turn the two into a single representative unit, unanimity is essential, and while in agreeing in nothing else they could agree in casting lots. Is the principle of settlement by casting lots in itself objectionable? Was it not considered wise and good in ancient times? And would it not be equally good to-day? It is certainly a time-honored usage for determining difficult questions, and is exemplified in many passages in Holy Scripture; indeed the uniform voice of Scripture goes to show that decisions thus obtained are not only wholly unobjectionable in themselves, but that they were considered to have been overruled and directed by special providential interposition.

I shall cite but one example, the selection of an apostle to take the place of Judas Iscariot. An account of this election by casting lots is given in the "Acts of the Apostles," Chap. I, verses 15-26. It is stated that about a hundred and twenty persons were called upon to select one of their number. They proceeded with deliberate wisdom to follow a usage regarded by them as a means of obtaining the divine mind. They determined by lot who should be the twelfth apostle, and thus they made a selection to which a cheerful acquiescence was unanimously given.

I have assumed a case of two electors, and pointed out the course which might be followed—indeed, the only rational course which could be followed. If the principle laid down be sound, could it not be applied in other cases? Let us assume that the electorate consists of twenty voters, what could be done in this case? If individual voters in the electorate were equal in all respects, as in the first

case referred to, the question would be a very simple one, as it might be settled by casting lots for one of the twenty equally eligible persons. It may be taken for granted that under the circumstances no one would object to make the selection in this way, as being the simplest and best mode of making a choice. It would remove antagonism and promote unanimity; and, by the very act of casting lots, each one of the twenty taking part therein would be an assenting party to the choice made. Men as we ordinarily find them are, however, not alike; they differ much in their qualifications, and their opinions are not the same; we must therefore consider cases in which equal eligibility and uniformity of mind in the whole electorate is not the rule.

*First*, let us suppose that among the twenty electors, five votes favor the choice of *A*, another five *B*, another *C*, and the remainder *D*. We should thus have *A*, *B*, *C*, *D* each equally desired and preferred as the representative of the twenty.

$(A+B+C+D) \div 4$  would therefore be the representative unit of the whole. We cannot, however, take one quarter of *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*, and combine these quarters so as to form one individual, but we can reduce the four to one by the principle of casting lots. One of the four can be selected by what may be termed the "Apostolic" method, and the person so selected would be recognized as chosen by the twenty electors as the common representative of the whole.

*Secondly*, let us suppose a case in which there is less diversity of opinion; two groups of five electors each favor *A*, one group of five prefer *B*, another *C*. The selected men would thus stand *A*, *A*, *B* and *C*, and the representative unit of the whole would be  $(2A + B + C) \div 4$ . As in the previous case, this complex would be reducible to a single individual by casting lots, and it is obvious that the probability of the lot falling upon *A*, would be as two to one.

*Thirdly*, suppose three groups of five electors desire to be represented by *A* and one group by *B*. In this case we should have  $(3A + B) \div 4$ , as the representative unit: in selecting one of by lot, there is a undoubtedly a possibility of the lot falling upon *B*, but the probability of *A*'s being chosen would be three times greater than the probability in *B*'s case. True it may be said that there should be no possi-

bility of *B*'s being chosen in a constituency where three-fourths of the electors desire *A*. We must, however, bear in mind that the object is not so much to have particular sections of the country, as to have the whole nation, fairly represented in Parliament. If we look a little further, if we take four constituencies precisely similar to the one under consideration, according to the mathematical theory of probabilities, there would be returned out of the four, three members in sympathy with *A* and one member in sympathy with *B*. Again, if we carry the matter still further if we take into consideration every one of the constituencies into which for convenience the whole nation may be divided, it would be found as a general result that the representatives returned to sit in Parliament would collectively represent the nation and fairly embody the reason contained in the whole community.

There is one peculiarity of the system suggested which may be noticed; in every case the election of a representative would be effected deliberately and without conflict. It would be accomplished in fact with unanimous assent. Each individual voter would contribute toward a common result—a result which would be reached on principles equally just and fair to all, and thus command general acquiescence.

These results are attainable only by bringing to hear, on matters of doubt or difficulty, the principle of settlement adopted by the Apostles. That principle cannot be objected to on scientific grounds, and those who hold the belief that mundane affairs are over-ruled and directed, should have no difficulty in accepting it as a means of promoting harmony and advancing the common good. The belief in a Providence, who takes cognizance of the affairs of men, is the foundation of all religion; communities therefore, the social fabric of which is based on Christianity, should have no hesitation in leaving matters of the highest moment to the arbitrament of an infinitely wise Providence rather than to the settlement of men with all their individual interests and selfish views, all their prejudices, all their passions, and all their errors of judgment.

I have so far, for the purpose of the argument, assumed hypothetical cases; it remains to be considered how the principles laid down

may be applied practically. Let us take for example the election of a single representative in a constituency of 2,000 voters. It is desirable in the first place that each voter, or group of voters of one mind, should have perfect freedom of choice in the nomination. Suppose, in order to accommodate every shade of opinion, it be arranged that each hundred voters of one way of thinking name the person whom they would wish to represent them. This would separate the constituency into twenty groups of voters, who would each nominate whomsoever they most favored. It does not necessarily follow that there would be twenty persons nominated in the constituency, as two or more groups might nominate the same person; a circumstance which would increase the probability of his selection exactly in proportion to the number of groups making him their nominee. On the twenty nominations being made, the next step would be for the person nominated to proceed on the principles above set forth, to select one of themselves.

If unable to make an unanimous choice, they might, as in the case of the twenty electors choosing a representative, sort themselves into smaller groups and, by the application of the principles set forth, proceed to reduce the number of voting units, and finally, by the apostolic method, determine the selection of one person. The person so chosen would be held to be the common choice of the whole 2,000 to represent the constituency in Parliament.

In the carrying out of such a system, there would be, as in every system, a number of possible contingencies for which provision would have to be made; these I have not deemed it necessary at present to enter into. My object has been briefly to suggest leading principles by which, as it appears to me, the central idea may be realized. If the principles submitted be sound, I venture to think that it is not impracticable to devise proper machinery to elect representatives who, when brought into one deliberative gathering, would, so far as such a thing is possible, be a mathematical concentration of the whole electoral body—would in fact constitute an assembly which would closely approximate to the ideal Parliament.

Referring to the present system an eminent writer asks: "Is government only possible by

the conflict of opposing principles?" The familiar expression, "government of the people by the people" cannot he held to mean government of the whole by a part or by the conflict of hostile parts. It must be obvious the united energy and wisdom of a whole nation directed towards one end can only be fully realized, when the supreme power is vested in a Parliament chosen by the whole people, and fairly representing the whole people. This is the great problem for solution and it is manifest that if such a Parliament is ever to be constituted, the people, in choosing members to represent them, must in some way be brought to act not in contestation and conflict, but in concert and in concord.

If it be one of the first of political desiderata to have no large minorities left unrepresented in the national assembly, if appears to me essential to seek for some means of securing the co-operation of the whole body of the electors in the election of members to sit in the High Court of Parliament. To obtain this result it is obviously expedient to adopt a system which necessarily does not develop animosity or provoke hostility; the aim should be to promote friendliness and agreement in a matter which concerns all alike. It cannot be denied that the whole community is concerned in having in Parliament, not men of extreme views, but moderate-minded men of good common sense and good conscience, capable of representing the more enlightened electoral mind. By electing representatives on the principles laid down, these desirable objects would undoubtedly in a large measure be attained; every step would be deliberately taken, free from the excited and heated feeling which so frequently accompany ordinary elections. In every stage of the proceedings there would be a tendency to return only the best men. At the very first step it is obvious that a candidate must be a person respected and supported by a hundred electors. It is presumable that no hundred electors of any class or race or creed would deliberately put forward a base or unworthy or even an inferior individual; it is not to be supposed that they would choose one of the least intelligent or least honest or least reputable amongst them as their representative in the candidature. As a rule, electors of one mind would arrange

themselves into groups of one hundred, and each group would select some man, who, on his merits as a citizen, would creditably represent them, or who as a statesman would commend himself to their favor. In their turn, those selected by the hundreds would follow the same course, selecting generally the best, the worthiest and wisest men until the final choice was reached and a member selected to represent the constituency in Parliament.

It can scarcely be doubted that if such a system could be put in force, the tendency would be upwards from first to last, and that there would be drawn to the legislature accomplished statesmen, men endowed with wisdom and patriotism, practical knowledge and experience. The inevitable effect would be to allay the spirit of faction and remove political rancour. In a higher degree than under the ordinary method of electing members, the system would attract within the pale of Parliament men in generous sympathy not with a part only, but with the whole people. Thus might be constituted an august body which as closely as possible would be a true mirror of the enlightened mind of the nation to reflect its opinions, its wisdom, and its virtues.

In a Parliament so constituted, perfect unanimity on all questions, perhaps on any question, is not to be looked for, and each separate question would have to be settled, as it arose, by the voice of a majority. Hence it may be said that as every question would in the end have to be determined by a majority, the Parliament as proposed would be no improvement on the present. It will, however, readily be seen that there is a wide difference between a parliament representing the whole people, deciding questions by a majority of its own members, and a Parliament in which a part only of the electors has any voice. The proposed assembly would not consist of men placed in their seats in direct opposition to a large number of the people, but a Parliament formed through the co-operation and assent of the whole body of the electors, to promote their common welfare; it would approximately be a microcosm, so to speak, of the nation. In and through this Parliament each and every elector would have an equal voice in public affairs.

The proposal is to substitute in our Parlia-

mentary elections the principle of co-operation for the principle of antagonism, and by this means to choose representatives, who when brought together in a deliberative assembly would realize the true idea of Parliament—a “Witenageinot or great council of wise men,” representing every part of the realm, and imbued with the spirit of the whole, to act in the name of the whole, and speak the voice of the united nation.

If such a Parliament be an object to be desired; if it be a fundamental principle that all who bear the taxation should share in the representation; if it be the sacred right of every elector to have a just and proper representation in Parliament; then it must be recognized as a paramount duty, and an object worthy of the highest efforts of the progressive statesman, to find some means by which such a legislative body may be realized. A complete solution of the problem may be remote, but as has been stated, Parliament is a growth and development, and in all matters into which the principle of growth enters, the element of time must also enter. The question vitally concerns all free communities, and any change must in the nature of things be preceded by a deliberate and impartial enquiry. I have ventured to submit a scientific solution: it may not be the best means of attaining the desired end, and I offer it with all diffidence merely as a contribution to the general discussion, in the hope that it may not be wholly barren of utility. I cannot but think that if the strictly scientific habit of

mind be brought to bear on the question, some practical method of solving the problem will slowly and surely be evolved. Whatever the solution, I humbly think that it must be based on principles which will not beget the conflicts and contestations which result from political activity under the present system.

It is held by the most eminent political economists that by co-operating two men will do more work and do it better than four men, or four times four men acting in opposition. Is not the rule of universal application? Can there be co-operation without harmony? Can there be antagonism without discord? And are not discord and harmony in the state likened unto disease and health in the human body? This much will be conceded; the chronic feuds between tribes and races which characterized the history of the human family in a less advanced stage of civilization no longer exist. War is manifestly not the normal condition of society in our time. Is it not therefore an anachronism to perpetuate hostility in the internal affairs of a nation? Is it not in the highest interest of the state that each member of the community, in every matter which concerns him as a citizen, should have the fullest opportunity of acting up to the injunction, “Live peaceably with all men.” If the age of belligerency has passed away, is it not eminently fit and proper that we should seek the removal of the last vestiges of a belligerent age which still remain in our political system?



## **EXPLANATORY NOTE.**

*To the Editor Queen's College Journal:*

If you append my Royal Society paper to the address I delivered on "University Day" I would desire to explain as follows:—

The object of my paper, "A problem in Political Science," was simply to demonstrate that Parliament could be formed so as to represent truly the whole nation.

I do not wish it to be thought that I have given the only solution to the problem. I merely wish it to be understood, that having established the possibility of constituting the national assembly with scientific accuracy, I felt warranted in urging that an effort should be made to abolish government by party and substitute government by the whole people.

I do not doubt that features open to objection in the solution presented in my Royal Society paper can be eliminated or that better means may be devised, of attaining the desired object. If a "will" become apparent in the public mind, a "way" will not be wanting.

SANDFORD FLEMING.

Ottawa, Oct. 20th, 1891.